

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
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R 211945Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WAHSDC 3153
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0464

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL FRG DELEGATION PAPER ON FURTHER STEPS
IN DATA DISCUSSION WITH EAST

1. IN INFORMAL END-OF-ROUND REVIEW ON JULY 21 AMONG UK AND
FRG REPS AND MYSELF, INFORMAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED AMONG THE
THREE OF US TO SUGGEST TO HOME CAPITALS FOR CONSIDERATION THAT
THE WEST MIGHT FOLLOW THE GENERAL COURSE SET FORTH IN THE
ATTACHED DATA PAPER EARLIER PREPARED BY THE FRG DEL AN INFORMAL,
NO-COMMITMENT BASIS, AS THE BASIS OF A POSSIBLE AD HOC GROUP
REPORT TO THE NAC, ESPECIALLY THE SECTION HEADED "DRAFT
GUIDANCE". (COMMENT: THESE SUGGESTED ACTIONS PARALLEL THOSE
WHICH THE DELEGATION HAS PROPOSED TO WASHINGTON AGENCIES IN
MBFR VIENNA 0412).

2. THE THREE REPS ALSO INFORMALLY AGREED TO SUGGEST TO THEIR
HOME AUTHORITIES THAT, IN THE EVENT NATO SHOULD AGREE TO AUTHORIZE
THE AHG TO PRESENT DATA TO THE EAST, THE AHG SHOULD ALSO BE
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GIVEN AUTHORITY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO PRESENT THE AUTHORIZED
DATA WITHOUT REQUIRING RECIPROCITY FROM THE EAST. IT WAS ALSO
AGREED TO SUGGEST THAT, TO COPE WITH POSSIBILITY THAT THE EAST
WOULD THEN DECLINE TO AGREE TO PRESENT ANY FURTHER BREAKDOWN
OF EASTERN DATA UNLESS WEST RESPONDED FIRST TO EASTERN PROPOSALS
FOR DATA PRESENTATION ALREADY ON THE TABLE, THAT NATO SHOULD
AUTHORIZE THE AHG IN CASE OF NEED TO PRESENT NATO DATA ON NATIONAL

TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL WARSAW TREATY FORCES AND ALSO AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FIGURES FOR THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. THIS WOULD BE IN ORDER TO PLACE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN A POSITION TO RETURN TO PRESSING THE EAST TO GIVE AVERAGE MANNING FIGURES FOR PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS OR TOTAL STRENGTH FIGURES FOR PERSONNEL IN DIVISIONS. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF FRG DATA PAPER.

3. CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN IN DISCUSSING THIS PAPER WITH FRG OFFICIALS. THOUGH ITS CONTENT IS CONSTRUCTIVE, IT IS FIRST TIME FRG DEL HAS SUBMITTED DISCUSSION PAPER FOR TRILATERAL DISCUSSION IN VIENNA. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE THE PRACTICE.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT PAPER ON DATA DISCUSSION:

I. BACKGROUND

1. SINCE THE TABLING OF DATA BY THE EAST IN JUNE 1976, THE WEST TRIED TO CLARIFY THE BASIS OF EASTERN DATA BY POSING QUESTIONS AS FAR AS

-BASIC UNDERSTANDING ON DEFINITIONS,
-ALLOCATION BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR FORCES, AND
-INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS WHERE CONCERNED.

2. AFTER THE TABLING OF DETAILED FIGURES ON GROUND AND AIR FORCES BY EAST AND WEST IN MARCH AND APRIL 1978 THE WEST POSED
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ADDITIONAL AND MORE DETAILED QUESTIONS TO GET AN EVEN BETTER UNDERSTANDING ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-ALLOCATION TO GROUND OR AIR FORCES
-ALLOCATION OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL TO EITHER "PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS" OR "OTHER PERSONNEL"
-EXCLUSIONS AND INCLUSIONS.

3. THE RESULT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS HAS - AS OF NOW - POINTED ONLY MARGINALLY TO THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES FOR EASTERN GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

OF COURSE, AS A RESULT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, THERE IS NOW A BETTER UNDERSTANDING HOW THE DISCREPANCIES ARE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.

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5. THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS AND PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE EMERGED
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DATA DISCUSSION HAVE NOT YET BEEN
DEALT WITH:

A. THE QUESTION OF HOW TO DEAL WITH THE REALLOCATIONS
DEMANDED BY THE EAST.

B. THE PROPOSAL OF THE EAST TO EXCHANGE "MANNING LEVELS"
OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

C. A FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF EASTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER INTO
PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND OTHER PERSONNEL PROPOSED
BY THE WEST. (THE WEST HAS DONE THIS IN TABLING HIS AIR FORCE
DATA IN APRIL 1978).

D. EXCLUSION OF SPECIFIC FORCE ELEMENTS BY THE EAST.

E. AN IDEA BROUGHT FORWARD IN AN "INFORMAL" BY THE EAST TO PURSUE
THE DATA DISCUSSION IN SUCH A WAY AS TO DEAL WITH THOSE SPECIFIC
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ELEMENTS WHERE THE LARGEST DISCREPANCIES ARE.

II. PROBLEMS

1. AS FAR AS THE REALLOCATION CASE IS CONCERNED, GUIDANCE

RECEIVED EARLIER BY THE AHG DEMANDS TO ASK FOR QUANTIFICATION OF THE ELEMENTS IN QUESTION BEFORE A SOLUTION ON REALLOCATION CAN BE ENVISAGED.

2. WHATEVER FINAL DECISION WILL BE TAKEN IN THE REALLOCATION CASE, THESE DECISIONS WILL BEAR ON THE OUTCOME OF THE REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN.

AN EXAMPLE FOR SUCH CHANGES COULD BE AS FOLLOWS:

THE NATO PROPOSAL SUGGESTS A COMBINED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING OF 900,000 MEN WITH A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCES OF 700,000 TO BE INCLUDED.

THIS RESULT IS TO BE REACHED BY THE FOLLOWING REDUCTIONS:

A. WP GROUND FORCES

NATO FIGURES	REALLOCATED FIGURES	WP FIGURES
962,000	942,000	805,000
262,000	242,000	105,000

700,000	700,000	700,000

B. WP AIR FORCES

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201,000	227,600	182,300
1,000	27,600	PLUS 17,700

200,000	200,000	200,000

3. ADDITIONALLY, THE QUESTION OF THE EXCLUSIONS DEMANDED BY THE EAST HAS ALSO A DIRECT BEARING ON THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE REDUCTIONS.

THE QUANTIFICATION OF THESE EXCLUSIONS LOCATED AS OF NOW HAVE NOT BEEN INCORPORATED INTO THE FIGURES OF THE EXAMPLE ABOVE.

4. ANOTHER POINT WHICH HAS SOME IMPORTANCE IN THIS CONTEXT IS THAT THERE ARE SOME UNCERTAINTIES IN OUR DATA BASE:

A. THERE IS SOME DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ON SOME OF THE FIGURES (SEE MC 86/76).

B. BESIDES THESE FIGURES SOME NATIONS BELIEVE THAT
SOME WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES HAVE EVEN MORE PERSONNEL THAN IS
STATED IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED DOCUMENT.

C. SOME OF THE POSITIONS IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED DOCUMENT
MAY BE WORTHWHILE TO BE RECONSIDERED.

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5. THE QUESTIONS EMBODIES IN AN EXCHANGE OF MANNING LEVELS
HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BY NATO.
THE PROBLEMS CLEARLY STATED IN THE RESPECTIVE DOCUMENTS
ARE OBVIOUS.

BUT THERE IS, NVERTHELESS, THE PROBLEM AT HAND THAT AT ANY GIVEN
MOMENT, WHEN WE WISH TO GO FURTHER INTO THE DETAILS, THE
EAST MAY CONFRONT US WITH THIS PROPOSAL.

6. AS OF NOW, THE WEST HAS CAREFULLY ABSTAINED FROM
TABLING RED DATA.

THE REASON FOR DOING SO WAS THAT THE WEST WANTED TO HAVE
DISCUSSIONS DONE ON THE BASIS OF THE EAST'S FIGURES FOR THE
EAST'S FORCES.

ADDITIONALLY, THE OPEN QUESTIONS OF REALLOCATION, EXCLUSIONS

AND INCLUSIONS AND SOME UNCERTAINTIES IN DATA WERE REASONS
NOT TO TABLE RED DATA.

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HOWEVER, THE EAST'S INFORMAL PROPOSAL TO QUANTIFY AREAS WITH
THE LARGEST DISCREPANCIES AND THEN TO DEAL WITH THESE AREAS
MAY BRING US TO A POINT WHERE IT MAY BE IN OUR INTEREST TO
TABLE SOME RED DATA.

THIS ALL THE MORE WHEN THE WEST IS TRYING TO GO FURTHER
INTO THE DETAILS OF THE EASTERN FORCES.

III. POSSIBLE TACTICS FOR FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION

1. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE PRESENT COURSE OF ACTION DOES
NO LONGER CONTRIBUTE TO A CLARIFICATION OF THE SOURCES OF
THE DISCREPANCIES. AT LEAST IT IS ONLY POSSIBLE TO FIND SOME
SMALL ELEMENT, BUT THE BULK OF THE DISCREPANCIES CANNOT BE
DETECTED. A FUTURE COURSE OF COURSE OF ACTION HAS TO BE CHOSEN
IN A WAY TO BRING ABOUT THE EAST TO GO INTO FURTHER
DISAGGREGATION.

2. THERE ARE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES HOW TO PROCEED WITH THE
DATA DISCUSSION:

A. NATO COULD EXPLAIN TO THE EAST THAT THE PRESENT
DISAGGREGATION OF DATA IS NOT ENOUGH TO DETECT THE SOURCES OF
THE DISCREPANCIES. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS COULD COME BACK TO
THE WEST'S JULY 1977 PROPOSAL AND ASK FOR A FURTHER BREAKDOWN
TO THE CORPS RESPECTIVELY DIVISION LEVEL.

SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTE TO A
CLARIFICATION OF THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCIES. BECAUSE
THIS PROCEDURE WOULD GIVE HINTS TO THE STRENGTH OF VERY
DETAILED FORCE ELEMENTS OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.

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HOWEVER, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE EAST ACCEPTS SUCH
A PROPOSAL. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE FOUGHT FOR MORE THAN 9
MONTHS TO AVOID SUCH A BREAKDOWN AND THEY HAVE EXPLICITLY
STATED THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH AN APPROACH.

THEREFORE, ALTHOUGH OUR JULY 1977 PROPOSAL COULD BE BROUGHT
FORWARD AGAIN, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE

TO THE DATA DISCUSSION.

B. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS COULD ALSO ASK FOR A FURTHER
BREAKDOWN OF EASTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

THIS IDEA IS EMBODIED IN THE WEST'S PROPOSAL FOR DATA
DISAGGREGATION AND THE EAST HAS STATED TO STUDY THIS
IDEA CAREFULLY.

SUCH A FURTHER DISAGGREGATION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER INTO
MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND OTHER PERSONNEL WOULD CERTAINLY
GIVE INTERESTING HINTS AS FAR AS THE DISTRIBUTION OF MANPOWER
IS CONCERNED BUT IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE
TO CLARIFICATION OF THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCIES, AT MAXIMUM
WE MIGHT DETECT A FEW EXCLUSIONS.

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C. DATA DISCUSSION COULD BE PURSUED WITH THE REALLOCATION
AND EXCLUSION CASE TO GET A BETTER INSIGHT HOW STRONG THESE
ELEMENTS ARE IN THE VIEW OF THE EAST, BUT TO DO THIS IN ISOLATION
WOULD AGAIN ONLY CLARIFY SOME FORCE ELEMENTS AND WOULD NOT
CONTRIBUTE TO CLARIFICATION OF THE BULK OF THE DISCREPANCIES.

ADDITIONALLY WE MIGHT BE FACED WITH EASTERN COUNTER-DEMANDS
AS FAR AS ALLOCATIONS ARE CONCERNED. SUCH COUNTER-DEMANDS
COULD BE EASTERN REQUESTS FOR THE WEST'S AGREEMENT TO SOLVE THE

ALLOCATION CASE ACCORDING TO EASTERN DEMANDS.

D. ANOTHER WAY WOULD BE TO PICK UP THE EAST'S INFORMAL PROPOSAL TO DEAL WITH THOSE FORCE ELEMENTS WHERE THE LARGEST DISCREPANCIES ARE.

SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE THAT THE WEST COULD - WHILE ACCEPTING AN EASTERN IDEA - INCORPORATE HIS IDEAS OF THE FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE EAST TO REJECT WESTERN IDEAS IN THIS FIELD.

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THERE ARE OF COURSE ALSO PROBLEMS EMBODIED IN THIS COURSE OF ACTION. THE WEST WOULD HAVE, AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT, TO TABLE RED DATA. THE PROBLEMS OF REALLOCATION AND EXCLUSIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH CAREFULLY AND CAUTIOUSLY. IT CANNOT BE EXCLUDED THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE MANNING LEVELS WILL HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN THIS CONTEXT.

DRAFT GUIDANCE

1. THE COUNCIL RECOGNIZES THAT THE DISCUSSION OF DATA IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS NOW ENTERING A NEW STAGE. IN THIS SITUATION IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE AHG REACTS QUICKLY AND FLEXIBLY. FOR THIS REASON THE COUNCIL AUTHORIZES THE AHG TO PURSUE THE DATA DISCUSSION WITH THE VIEW OF GAINING THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IN WHATEVER WAY THE GROUP DEEMS BEST WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE.

2. THE AHG IS AUTHORIZED TO PROCEED AS FOLLOWS:

A. THE AHG SHOULD ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF THE SO-CALLED ANOMALIES (I.E. CSSR AND POLISH GROUND BASED AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL; WP HELICOPTER PERSONNEL IN UNITS SUPPORTING GROUND FORCES; AND PERSONNEL IN FRG PERSHING UNITS) ON THE LINES SET OUT IN CM(75)53 OF 10 OCTOBER 1975. IN ADDITION, THE AHG SHOULD INFORM THE EAST THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ARE IN PRINCIPLE PREPARED TO ALLOCATE THE PERSONNEL IN THESE THREE CATEGORIES IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER: CSSR AND POLISH GROUND BASED AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL TO AIR FORCES; WP HELICOPTER PERSONNEL IN UNITS SUPPORTING THE GROUND FORCES TO GROUND FORCES; AND FRG PERSHING PERSONNEL TO GROUND FORCES.

IT SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME BE MADE CLEAR TO THE EAST:

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(I) THAT THESE THREE CATEGORIES ARE THE ONLY ANOMALIES WHICH ARISE UNDER THE AGREED DEFINITION OF FORCES ACCORDING TO THE WESTERN CRITERION OF ALLOCATION BY UNIFORM OF SERVICE.

(II) THAT ANY REALLOCATION IS DONE FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION AND THAT THIS IS WITHOUT ANY PREJUDICE FOR FURTHER DECISIONS.

(III) THAT IN ORDER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE REALLOCATION DESCRIBED ABOVE, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE TWO SIDES TO EXCHANGE DATA ON THE NUMBER OF PERSONNEL IN EACH OF THESE CATEGORIES.

B. THE AHG SHOULD USE SELECTED ITEMS OF RED DATA DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF DIVISIONAL OR EQUIVALENT.

C. IF, IN DEPLOYING THE LINE SET OUT ABOVE, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS ARE CONFRONTED WITH EASTERN REQUESTS FOR AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD SAY THAT AN EXCHANGE OF AVERAGE NATIONAL MANNING LEVELS WOULD BE MEANINGLESS, AND OF NO VALUE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT THE WEST WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE DATA ON MANNING LEVELS FOR SPECIFIC FORMATIONS OR GROUPS OF FORMATIONS (E.G. ARMIES OR DIVISIONS).

THE AHG SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK EASTERN AGREEMENT TO A FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF EASTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER. END TEXTDEAN

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Message Attributes

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